

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 MC-02 EURE-00 CU-02 BIB-01  
ERDA-05 /089 W  
-----241908Z 025139 /46

P R 241638Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1299  
SECDEF WAHSDC PRIORITY  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6717  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USUN NEW YORK 1573  
USLOSACLANT  
USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 0386

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO, CSCE, PARM  
SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: JANUARY 21 POLADS DISCUSSION

REF: (A) STATE 013427 (DTG 200109Z JAN 77) (NOTAL),  
(B) USNATO A-397, DECEMBER 30, 1976 (NOTAL),  
(C) 76 USNATO 7042 (DTG 291520Z DEC 76)  
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(D) 76 STATE 313310 (DTG 301541Z DEC 76) (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: JANUARY 21 POLADS DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON  
NORWEGIAN CBMS PAPER, WHICH RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE  
ALLIED SUPPORT FOR ITS OVERALL APPROACH. FRENCH REP,  
HOWEVER, REITERATED TRADITIONAL POSITION THAT ALLIES  
SHOULD NOT SEEK EXPANSION OF CBMS AT BELGRADE.  
NETHERLANDS DEL CIRCULATED ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT ON  
POSSIBLE LOWERING OF NOTIFICATION THRESHOLD.  
MEETING INDICATED ALLIED RECOGNITION OF NEED TO

ACCELERATE TEMPO OF CBMS PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE. NEXT POLADS ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH WILL CONCENTRATE ON FURTHER DISCUSSION OF NORWEGIAN PAPER AND ON POSSIBLE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED CBM INITIATIVES, IS SCHEDULED FOR FEBRUARY 10. US WAS SOLE MAJOR ALLY NOT TO HAVE SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS ON NORWEGIAN PAPER, AND WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT WE BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS AT LEAST SOME OF POINTS IN NORWEGIAN PAPER AT FEBRUARY 10 MEETING. ACTION REQUEST: SEE PARA 8. END SUMMARY.

#### 1. NORWEGIAN PRESENTATION

NORWEGIAN PRESENTATION OF PAPER (REFS B & C) WAS MADE BY MFA DEPUTY POLITICAL DIRECTOR MEVIK, WHO RECALLED THAT CBMS HAD BEEN A SUCCESSFUL WESTERN INITIATIVE AT CSCE DESPITE EASTERN OPPOSITION. THUS, IN TAKING FURTHER CBM INITIATIVES AT BELGRADE, WEST WOULD BE ACTING IN PURSUIT OF RECOGNIZED ALLIED INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES. HE ADDED THAT NORWAY'S GEOGRAPHIC POSITION MADE CBMS A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT SUBJECT FOR HIS COUNTRY. MOREOVER, THE FINAL ACT'S REFERENCE TO "DEVELOPING AND ENLARGING" DBCS PROVIDES A LEGITIMATE PLATFORM FOR ALLIED CBMS INITIATIVES AT BELGRADE. CONFIDENTIAL

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MEVIK STRESSED THAT NORWEGIAN SUGGESTIONS ARE INTENDED TO STIMULATE DISCUSSION AND THAT ACTUAL DRAFTING OF PROPOSALS WOULD BE PREMATURE, AS WOULD BE A DISCUSSION OF TACTICS AT THIS STAGE. BY WAY OF CLARIFICATION OF NORWEGIAN VIEWS REGARDING POSSIBLE FORMATION OF AN EXPERT GROUP TO DEAL WITH CBMS AFTER BELGRADE (REF C, PARA 2), MEVIK SAID NORWAY'S PREFERENCE IS TO HAVE POSSIBLE CBM PROPOSALS ACTED UPON SUBSTANTIVELY AT BELGRADE. ONLY IF THIS PROVES IMPOSSIBLE SHOULD AN EXPERT GROUP BE CONSIDERED. TACTICALLY, MEVIK THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT THAT THE WEST AVOID GIVING THE EAST EUROPEANS THE IMPRESSION THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF A CBMS EXPERT GROUP AFTER BELGRADE IS AN EASY WAY OUT; AND SECONDLY, SUCH A GROUP SHOULD ONLY BE ACCEPTED ON THE BASIS OF A PRECISE MANDATE.

#### 2. GENERAL COMMENTS:

IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, UK, FRG, ITALIAN, CANADIAN, BELGIAN, DANISH, GREEK AND DUTCH REPS EXPRESSED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH BASIC LINES OF NORWEGIAN PAPER. UK REP CALLED FOR A THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF THE OPTIONS PRESENTED BY NORWAY

WITHOUT PREJUDICE AS TO POSSIBLE EVENTUAL USE OF  
SUCH PROPOSALS OR EARLY DECISIONS AS TO TACTICS.  
ITALIAN REP NOTED THAT ALLIES, IN CONTEXT OF  
BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING, WILL NEED TO STUDY  
HOW CBMS SHOULD BE INTRODUCED INTO DELIBERA-  
TIONS FOR MAIN BELGRADE MEETING. IN VIEW OF FRG  
AUTHORITIES, INTEGRITY OF TEXT OF FINAL ACT SHOULD  
CONTINUE TO BE PRESERVED AND INDEED, BONN OULD  
"LIVE WITH" THE EXISTING CBMS PROVISIONS. IN VIEW  
OF EXPECTED EASTERN CSCE INITIATIVES IN THE MILITARY  
DETENTE FIELD, THE WEST COULD USE ITS OWN  
CBMS PROPOSALS AS BARGAINING CHIPS AT BELGRADE.  
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ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 MC-02 EURE-00 CU-02 BIB-01  
ERDA-05 /089 W  
-----241909Z 025508 /46

P R 241638Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1300  
SECDEF WAHSDC PRIORITY  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6718  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USUN NEW YORK 1574  
USLOSACLANT  
USNMR SHAPE

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BELGIAN REP FAVORED A SOMEWHAT MORE ACTIVIST WESTERN  
STANCE AT BELGRADE AIMED AT FURTHER DEVELOP-  
ING DBMS, FOR EXAMPLE, BY GIVING ANOBLIGATORY CHARAC-  
TER TO SOME PRESENTLY VOLUNTARY MEASURES. US REP,

DRAWING ON PARA 2, REF A, SAID THAT WASHINGTON WELCOMES NORWEGIAN PAPER AND IS STUDYING IT CAREFULLY. ALLIED REACTIONS WILL HELP US DEVELOP ITS POSTIONS FURTHER. CONFIDENTIAL

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3. ONLY FRENCH REP EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO NEW ALLIED CBMS PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE WHICH, SHE THOUGHT, MIGHT RESULT IN LONG AND STERILE DEBATES AND GIVE THE EAST AN OPPORTUNITY TO REOPEN ISSUES SETTLED IN THE FINAL ACT. ALL INDICATIONS, ACCORDING TO FRENCH REP, ARE THAT THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO HOLD VERY NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD CBMS. IN VIEW OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS, THE WEST WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED TO SEEK FULLER IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING PROVISIONS RATHER THAN SEEKING NEW COMMITMENTS. IN TRYING TO EXPAND CBMS, SHE CONCLUDED, THE WEST WOULD PUT ITSELF IN THE POSITION OF DEMANDEUR AND THUS BE IN A WEAK TACTICAL SITUATION VIS-A-VIS THE EAST.

4. UK AND ITALIAN REPS STRONGLY DISPUTED FRENCH VIEW, WITH BRITISH REP DENYING THAT PUTTING FORWARD NEW PROPOSALS WOULD PUT WEST IN DEMANDEUR POSITION. EVEN IF SUCH WESTERN PROPOSALS ARE REJECTED, HE NOTED, THERE WOULD AT LEAST BE A PROPAGANDA BONUS AND A STRENGTHENING OF ALLIED TIES WITH THE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AT BELGRADE. MOREOVER, THE WEST COULD USE ITS PROPOSALS TO COUNTER EASTERN INITIATIVES OR, IF CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANT, SEEK TO GAIN SOVIET AGREEMENT TO EXPANDED CBMS IN EXCHANGE FOR MEASURES WHICH THE SOVIETS STRONGLY DESIRE IN OTHER AREAS AND WHICH WOULD OTHERWISE BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST. ITALIAN REP STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORTING THE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DESIRE FOR STRENGTHENED CBMS IN THE OVERALL BELGRADE NEGOTIATING CONTEXT. FRENCH REP RESPONDED THAT SHE WAS IMPRESSED BY UK POINTS ABOUT POSSIBLE TACTICAL USE OF WESTERN CBMS PROPOSALS AND WOULD REPORT THEM FAVORABLY TO PARIS.

5. CHAIRMAN (PABSCH) NOTED THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE A GENERAL CONSENSUS THAT NEW ALLIED PROPOSALS  
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COULD HAVE AT LEAST TACTICAL USEFULNESS, TO WHICH MEVIK (NORWAY) RESPONDED THAT HIS COUNTRY'S SUGGESTIONS ARE INTENDED AS MORE THAN JUST A TACTICAL GAMBIT, AND OSLO STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT EXPANDED CBMS--BASED ON THE FINAL ACT--HAVE A VALUE OF THEIR OWN.

6. FOLLOWING DISCUSSION DEALT WITH SPECIFIC POINTS

IN NORWEGIAN PAPER AS FOLLOWS:

A) LOWERING OF THRESHOLD FOR PRIOR  
NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MANEUVERS:

TURKISH REP ASKED IMS REP FOR ROUGH ESTIMATE  
OF THE NUMBER OF MANEUVERS ALLIES AND WARSAW PACT  
MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO NOTIFY PER YEAR IN THE EVENT OF  
A LOWERING OF THE NOTIFICATION THRESHOLD TO 10,000  
TROOPS. IMS REP REPLIED THAT A ROUGH ESTIMATE WOULD  
BE THAT ALLIES MIGHT NOTIFY 30-40 MANEUVERS ANNUALLY,  
WITH COMPARABLE FIGURE FOR WARSAW PACT PERHAPS 20. IN  
CANADIAN REP'S VIEW, ALLIES--IF THEY WISH TO SEEK A  
LOWERED THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION--WOULD ALSO NEED  
TO STUDY THE IMPACT OF SUCH A MEASURE ON THE PRIOR  
NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS.

NETHERLANDS REP CIRCULATED FOLLOWING TEXT (IN-  
FORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH LANGUAGE  
ORIGINAL)--WHICH HE EMPHASIZED WAS ILLUSTRATIVE AND  
FOR DISCUSSION PURPOSES ONLY--COVERING POSSIBLE  
LOWERING OF THE NOTIFICATION THRESHOLD. HE NOTED,  
IN THIS CONNECTION, THAT SUCH A TEXT WOULD MAKE IT  
CLEAR THE FINAL ACT TEXT WAS BEING LEFT INTACT.

BEGIN TEXT:

THE REPRESENTATIVE DESIGNATED BY THE MINISTERS  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE CSCE PARTICIPATING STATES,  
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REFERRING TO PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT RE-  
GARDING THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF OTHER MILI-  
TARY MANEUVERS,

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 MC-02 CU-02 BIB-01 ERDA-05  
/089 W

-----241910Z 025816 /46

P R 241638Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1301  
SECDEF WAHSDC PRIORITY  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6719  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
UFHMB/USDEL MBFR VIENNA 2296  
USUN NEW YORK 1575  
USLOSACLANT  
USNMR SHAPE

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--HAVE AGREED THAT WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE PROVISIONS, THE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS COMPRISING A TOTAL OF 10,000-25,000 MEN AND CORRESPONDING IN OTHER RESPECTS TO THE PARAMETERS CONTAINED IN THE PROVISIONS ON THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS, IS ENVISAGED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE  
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(EST EN PREMIER LIEU ENVISAGE)

OR:

--HAVE AGREED THAT IN IMPLEMENTING THESE PROVISIONS, THEY WILL GIVE PRIME ATTENTION (SE CONCENTRERONT EN PREMIER LIEU) TO THE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS COMPRISING A TOTAL OF 10,000-25,000 MEN AND CORRESPONDING IN OTHER RESPECTS TO THE PARAMETERS CONTAINED IN THE PROVISIONS ON THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS.END TEXT.

B) STRENGTHENING THE TEXT ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS

FRG REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WERE NOT HAPPY WITH THE FINAL SENTENCE IN THE PARAGRAPH IN THE NORWEGIAN PAPER WHICH DISCUSSES A STRENGTHENING OF THE TEXT OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER MANEUVERS, SINCE NORWEGIANS SUGGEST THAT SUCH NOTIFICATIONS OF MANEUVERS BELOW THE LOWERED THRESHOLD OF 10,000-12,000 TROOPS BE GIVEN, PARTICULARLY WHEN THE MANEUVER TAKES PLACE IN BORDER AREAS. IN BONN'S VIEW, SUCH A PROVISION COULD OPEN THE WAY TO THE SOVIETS REVIVING THE CONCEPT OF NOTIFICATION IN BORDER AREAS WHICH THEY HAD ESPOUSED DURING THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS AND THUS LEAD TO AN UNPRODUCTIVE DEBATE. UK REP SUPPORTED GERMAN VIEW.

C) MILITARY MOVEMENTS

CHAIRMAN SAID THAT, IN VIEW OF INABILITY OF CERTAIN DELS TO DISCUSS MOVEMENTS QUESTION IN DETAIL, CONSIDERATION OF THIS MATTER BE HELD OVER UNTIL THE NEXT POLADS MEETING ON CBMS. CHAIRMAN CALLED ATTENTION TO LATEST VERSION OF MIS PAPER ON CBMS (MILSTAM (P&P) 347-76), COPIES POUCHED TO EUR/RPM AND ACDA AND ALREADY CONFIDENTIAL

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AVAILABLE IN JCS), WHICH DISCUSSES MOVEMENTS IN SOME DETAIL. NETHERLANDS REP STRESSED THE VIEW OF HIS AUTHORITIES THAT AN ALLIED PROPOSAL FOR A MOVEMENTS CBM WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO ALLIED GOALS AT HELSINKI.

D) MORE CLOSELY DEFINED MODALITIES IN THE CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION

BELGIAN REP EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT GOING INTO TOO MUCH DETAIL IN EXTS OF MANEUVER NOTIFICATIONS. IN SIMILAR VEIN, CANADIAN REP OPPOSED INCLUSION OF DETAILED INFORMATION REGARDING NAVAL PARTICIPATION IN MANEUVER NOTIFICATION SINCE PROVISION OF SUCH DATA COULD AMOUNT TO A DE FACTO NOTIFICATION OF NAVAL MOVEMENTS. UK REP VOICED SAME VIEW AND ADDED THAT DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT PARTICIPATING AIR UNITS SHOULD ALSO BE AVOIDED. FRG REP FURTHER NOTED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES FAVOR GIVING A MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE MAJOR UNITS PARTICIPATING IN NOTIFIED MANEUVERS. DUTCH REP NOTED HIS AUTHORITIES FAVOR INCLUSION OF GREATER DETAIL IN NOTIFICATIONS SINCE THEY FEEL THAT THE WEST SHOULD GENERALLY DISPLAY GREATER OPENNESS IN THE CBMS FIELD.

E) REINFORCING TEXT ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS

DUTCH, ITALIAN, AND FRG REPS SAID THEIR AUTHORITIES WOULD OPPOSE ANY OBLIGATION FOR STATES TO INVITE OBSERVERS TO MANEUVERS, AND BELIEVED THAT NEW WESTERN PROPOSALS IN THIS AREA SHOULD STRESS IMPROVED TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS. NORWEGIAN REP, ECHOED BY ITALIAN REP, SAID THERE WERE INDICATIONS THAT SOVIET REJECTION OF WESTERN INVITATIONS TO MANEUVERS MAY NOT BE IRONCLAD, AND THE ALLIES SHOULD EXPLORE HOW BEST TO ENCOURAGE FUTURE SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF INVITATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, US REP CALLED ATTENTION TO SWEDISH INTEREST IN PROPOSING A "CODE OF CONDUCT" FOR TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS (REF D). US REP ALSO INFORMED POLADS OF US RECEIPT OF SWEDISH OBSERVER INVITATION, BUT THERE WAS INSUFFICIENT TIME CONFIDENTIAL

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TO BRIEF ALLIES ON PARA 4, REF A; WE WILL DO SO AT NEXT

REGULAR POLADS MEETING ON JANUARY 25.

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NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ISO-00  
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 MC-02 EURE-00 CU-02 BIB-01  
ERDA-05 /089 W

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P R 241638Z JAN 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1302  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 6720  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY UDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USUN NEW YORK 1576  
USLOSACLANT  
USNMR SHAPE

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7. NEXT STEPS:

POLADS AGREED TO HOLD NEXT CBMS BELGRADE DISCUSSION ON  
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FEBRUARY 10 AT WHICH TIME THEY WOULD DISCUSS NORWEGIAN PROPOSALS  
IN MORE DETAIL AND BEGIN ANALYSIS OF POSSIBLE NEUTRAL/NON-  
ALIGNED CBMS PROPOSALS. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE SYMPHATHY FOR  
ITALIAN SUGGESTION THAT POLADS SHOULD AIM AT PREPARING A CBMS  
PAPER FOR CONSIDERATION BY CSCE EXPERTS WHEN THE LATTER  
MEET HERE ON MARCH 22-23.

8. COMMENT AND ACTION REQUEST: WE BELIEVE JANUARY 21 MEETING  
WAS USEFUL IN DEFINING BASIC ALLIED ATTITUDES AND WE WERE  
STRUCK B EXTENT OF AGREEMENT ABOUT USEFULLNESS OF SEEKING TO  
PRESENT WESTERN CBMS PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE. AT FEBRUARY 10



CBMS DISCUSSION, WE AN EXPECT THAT ALLIES WILL LOOK TU US  
FOR STATEMENT OF AT LEAST GENERAL VIEWS ON NORWEGIAN PROPOSALS,  
AND THERE WILL OF COURSE BE PARTICULAR INTEREST IN US  
POSITION ON MILITARY MOVEMENTS. END COMMENT. ACTION REQUEST:

WASHINGTON GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR FEB 10 MEETING ON:

- A) NORWEGIAN CBMS PAPER;
- B) ADVISABILITY OF PREPARING A POLADS CBMS PAPER FOR  
MARCH 22-23 CSCE EXPERTS MEETING;
- C) DUTCH ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT ON LOWERING OF NOTIFICATON  
THRESHOLD.STRAUSZ-HUPE

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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE SECDEF WAHSDC MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
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